

BOSTON STRONG:
A QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS OF RUNNER PORTRAYAL IN MAJOR
U.S. NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE BOSTON MARATHON BOMBINGS

by

Hannah L. Oliver

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Abstract

This study employed a qualitative content analysis to explore how major U.S. newspapers used human-interest and emotional frames in their portrayal of runners in the month after the Boston Marathon Bombings. The Boston Marathon Bombings represented the first crisis event of their kind at a large running event. The current study analyzed a census of 15 news articles in major U.S. newspapers that focused on the Boston Marathon Bombings and running and that were published between April 15 and May 13, 2013. This filled a key gap in existing research regarding how the media used human-interest and emotional frames to portray runners one month after the crisis event. Results found that major U.S. newspapers framed the responses and motivations of runners as the result of individual (e.g., using running to overcome personal obstacles) and community (e.g., a strong group identity) dynamics. Results also showed how the media utilized anger and sadness in its emotional framing strategy and portrayed runners as vulnerable to future attacks. However, it also showed how they were determined to continue running and attending running events. The results of this study are beneficial to practitioners who target the running community by helping them craft effective immediate and long-term crisis communication strategies.

Thesis Readers:

Dr. Memi Miscally

Dr. Elizabeth Patton

Preface

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Introduction

This study used a qualitative content analysis to examine how major U.S. newspaper coverage of the Boston Marathon Bombings framed runners in the month after the event. This examination provided insight into the media's portrayal of runners during the first terrorist event of its kind. The Boston Marathon is a significant annual event for professional and amateur runners alike, and their involvement in the media coverage following the Boston Marathon Bombings is worth noting. Held on the third Monday of April each year during Patriot's Day in Boston, the race is the oldest annual marathon in the world (Boston Athletic Association, 2014). It is also one of only six marathons worldwide recognized as a "World Marathon Major" because of its size and prestige (World Marathon Majors, 2014), and its qualifying standards are extremely strenuous. When two bombs were detonated on April 15, 2013 at the finish line of the Boston Marathon, runners became part of the media narrative (e.g., "Runners sprint away from scene"). For example, they provided first-hand accounts of the event and their response to it in the days following became part of numerous media reports.

This study lent insight into the specific runner-related themes that were present in the narrative of U.S. newspapers in the month after the Boston Marathon Bombings. Researchers asked: How did the media frame runners and their actions? They believed that these themes represented a worthy study topic because they likely influenced what the public knew and understood about runners during this time. Scholarly research and several theories over the years point to the influence or role that the media has on the public (Williams, 2003). Media framing theory argues that one way the media helps

direct public attention to certain ideas or themes is through the use of frames. These frames raise the profile of some messages and downplay others (Entman, 1993).

The results of this study of the frames surrounding runners in major U.S. newspaper coverage provided practitioners who target the running community with specific ways to improve their crisis communication efforts in a post-Boston environment. These practitioners include race directors, public and media relations professionals associated with large races, and practitioners with running organizations like the Boston Athletic Association. By conducting a qualitative content analysis of this coverage, researchers provided them with a better understanding of how media frames defined runners and their motivations and responses during the first crisis event of its kind. In turn, this analysis directed these practitioners on how to develop effective short- and long-term crisis communication strategies aimed at runners themselves, running supporters, and race sponsors.

In addition to providing relevant crisis communication information for practitioners, this research built and supplemented existing literature. Little academic research exists on how the media framed events during and after the Boston Marathon Bombings. By focusing on runners, the current study addressed media coverage of a key public involved in the event. Additionally, while researchers have explored the motivations and dynamics of runners in a first-hand ethnographic setting, they have not explored how these motivations are understood and framed by those outside of the running world, particularly the media. Finally, although research has shown how human-interest frames and emotion in news coverage can influence reactions to crisis events, this

study sought greater understanding of how major U.S. newspapers used these framing strategies to portray the dynamics of runners.

For the purpose of this study, the term “runner” referred to individuals labeled as such in each newspaper article, regardless of their skill or experience level. As literature showed, the term “runner” has various meanings due to its diverse participants, and this study included this range of involvement as framed within newspaper coverage.

Furthermore, this study encompassed runners reflected in coverage who did not directly participate in the race, but watched it unfold in other ways. Their responses also played a role news coverage, for which this study accounted.

Literature Review

Literature indicates that the media play a strong role in crisis situations. Crises arise because of perceptions held by a respective audience, and as a general practice, crisis communication focuses on ways to control these perceptions in both the pre-, management-, and post-crisis environments. Various perspectives on crisis communication have focused on the rhetorical nature of crises, as well as the social implications of these events and how they are managed (Coombs, 2010). The media represents just one influential factor in the opinions and understanding that respective audiences form in the wake of a crisis like the Boston Marathon Bombings. For example, Coombs (2015) noted that, “the media can expose organizational misdeeds or generate other negative publicity” (p. 36).

Although literature shows that the media plays an arguable role in crisis communication, existing literature provided researchers with relatively limited understanding of how the media has portrayed runners during a crisis event like the Boston Marathon Bombings. The following literature review shows how the media has often framed human elements during crisis events, as well as the impact human-interest and emotional news frames have had on news consumers. It also points to the importance of individual and community elements among self-proclaimed runners. Together, the strengths and weaknesses of this literature supported the need to better understand how American newspapers framed runners following the Boston Marathon Bombings.

Human Interest Frames Turn Crisis Into a Human News Event

Human-interest frames are employed by the media to highlight human elements and emphasize emotion during crisis events. Cho and Gower (2006) defined this kind of

frame as one that “puts a human face and emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem, so it makes people regard the crisis as serious, urgent, or dangerous” (p. 420). The following literature highlights how the media have used human-interest frames during crisis events, particularly in the later stages of crisis. It also highlights how these frames have heightened the emotional response of audiences.

Literature first shows that the media have used human-interest frames when reporting on crises that have a prominent human element. These human elements specifically included human victims and a responsible individual, rather than an organization. An and Gower (2009) conducted a content analysis of 247 news stories regarding 25 corporations involved in three types of crisis in 2006. These crisis types were: victim crises, which included natural disasters and workplace violence; accidental crises, which included technical product errors; and preventable crises, which included organizational mistakes and recalls that could be attributed to a willful human action. They drew the articles from the *New York Times*, *USA Today*, and *Washington Post* within one month of each respective crisis. In each article, they measured the use of five news frames: attribution of responsibility, human-interest, conflict, morality, and economic frames. According to Semetko and Valkenburg (2000; as cited in An & Gower, 2009), attribution of responsibility frames were defined as those that assigned blame for an issue to a party, including individuals, groups, or the government. An and Gower (2009) defined human-interest frames as those that presented a human side of the crisis. Conflict frames portrayed rifts between parties involved in the crisis. Morality frames highlighted right versus wrong and “social prescriptions” (An & Gower, 2009, p. 108). Economic frames showed the economic impact of the respective crisis. In addition

to measuring the use of each frame, researchers analyzed whether articles assigned responsibility to an individual or organization. Finally, researchers measured how often human-interest, conflict, morality, and economic frames were used in conjunction with responsibility frames at the individual and organizational levels. Results showed that 64.4% of the articles used human-interest frames, making them the third most used frame behind attribution of responsibility frames (95.1%) and economic frames (74.9%). When stories involved human victims, human-interest frames were used 92.3% of the time. Accident-related crises utilized these frames 83.3% of the time, while the frames appeared in preventable crisis stories 60.5% of the time. When comparing how often human-interest, conflict, economic, and morality frames appeared in stories that attributed responsibility to an individual or organization, researchers found that human-interest frames were used more often alongside attribution frames that blamed the crisis on an individual rather than an organization (77.8% versus 52.3%). An and Gower's study highlighted the role that human-interest frames played in news stories that involved prominent human elements. However, because the sampled news coverage only encompassed corporations involved in crises, it proved difficult to assess how human-interest frames are used during other kinds of crisis events, such as terrorism. The current study sought to shed light on this subject area by examining the media's use of human-interest frames as they portrayed runners during and after the Boston Marathon Bombings.

While An and Gower (2009) reported on the occasions that drove the media to incorporate human-interest frames, Li (2007) explained how these frames developed during crisis reporting. Findings showed that during large-scale terrorist events, these

frames were used more often in later stages of the media's reporting when news and developments began to slow. Li conducted a content analysis of news coverage from *NBC*, *CBS*, *ABC*, *CNN*, and *Fox News* in the 24-hours following the September 11 attacks, measuring political, economic, criminal, environmental, safety, human-interest, religion, disaster, and other unclassified frames. Additionally, frames were sorted according to their level of sophistication, which was defined as the "level of complexity of a story angle or salience" (Li, 2007, p. 674). Li (2007) also classified the content orientation of each story, defined by four categories that highlighted "main functions that news media perform when covering a crisis" (p. 677). These were fact, analysis, consolation, and guidance. The 24-hour cycle was divided into three segments: stage one encompassed the period when the attack occurred and lasted from 8:48 to 11 a.m.; stage two took place from 11 a.m. to 3 p.m. as the media began to draw conclusions; and stage three took place from 3 p.m. until 9 a.m. the next day. Results showed that human-interest frames were used relatively rarely—only 6.6% of the time. Political (17.9%), criminal (11.9%), and safety (11.8%) frames were used most often during the first 24 hours of news coverage. However, human-interest frames significantly increased in later stages of coverage, regardless of the network. In the first stage of coverage, human-interest frames represented 1.3% of coverage, at midnight they represented 8.8%, and the next morning they represented 12.9%. The increase of human-interest frames through the stages of coverage lent support to Li's hypothesis that media frames became more sophisticated as stages in coverage progressed. According to Li, this is likely due to the time and resources required for journalists to prepare more complex stories for an audience. Overall, this study helped explain how human-interest frames fit into the

chronology of crisis reporting, particularly during a stunning terrorist event. However, because the study relied on 24-hour cable news coverage, its results provided little guidance on how these frames were used in print coverage. To address this, the current study explored the use of human-interest frames surrounding the Boston Marathon Bombings in major U.S. newspapers.

Research shows that in addition to being used when a crisis involves human elements, and in later stages of crisis reporting, human-interest frames influence the emotional response individuals have toward crisis situations. In an experiment with 104 participants, Cho and Gower (2006) probed the impact of crisis types and human-interest frames on participants' emotional reaction. The stimulus materials included two artificial stories about a car accident and two artificial stories about a corporate mistake that were based on an actual event. One car accident story and one corporate story utilized a human-interest frame. Participants were placed into one of two groups; the treatment group was exposed to human-interest stories, while the control group was not. To gauge the emotional reaction of participants after they read the stories, Cho and Gower (2006) had them answer a list of questions on an 11-point scale, with "1" indicating they strongly agreed and "11" meaning they strongly disagreed; questions included, "I felt the event was very serious," and "I felt the event was sad" (p. 421). Results showed that those exposed to the human-interest frame treatment group in both the accident and corporate mistake scenarios had a significantly higher emotional response to the company in the stories they read than those in the control group ($r = .363, p < .001$). The study also found that human-interest frames correlated with an increase in blame ($r = .588, p < .01$) and company responsibility ($r = .555, p < .01$), but only among participants in the

corporate mistake group. Although this study showed that human-interest frames elicited a higher emotional response from those exposed to them, it did not address how these simulated stories used these frames. Further study was needed to provide greater insight into how print media has incorporated human-interest frames during high-profile terrorist events.

The preceding literature suggests that the media has employed human-interest frames during crisis events and that these frames have appeared in later parts of a crisis to help news consumers make sense of the event. Research also reveals that these frames have had a significant, measured influence on the emotions of those exposed to them. However, these studies provided little conclusive information on how print media has used human-interest frames during terrorist events. The current study sought to help fill this void by exploring how major American print media used these frames around the Boston Marathon Bombings.

Emotion Influences Media and Public During Crisis Events

As Cho and Gower's (2006) definition of human-interest frames suggests, these frames often involve emotion. The following research studies showed that these emotional appeals specifically influenced how an audience felt about and coped with a crisis. More importantly, they showed why the current study was necessary to supplement understanding of emotional frames surrounding runners after the Boston Marathon Bombings.

Jin's (2010) experiment showed that the degree to which an audience perceived a crisis to be controllable and predictable played a significant role in the emotions it felt toward the crisis. Utilizing *New York Times* articles about four crisis events, the study

measured how perceived predictability and controllability of a crisis impacted the anger, sadness, fright, and anxiety audiences felt and which coping strategy they intended to employ after exposure to their respective condition group article. The experiment was conducted with a random sample of 168 people. Each was assigned to one of four conditions measuring high and low crisis predictability and high and low crisis controllability, which was simulated using one of four *New York Times* articles: “Vick Pleads Guilty, Apologizes in Dogfighting Case,” “Families and City Mourn as Hunt for the Missing Continues,” “Anger of Killer Was on Exhibit in His Writings,” and “The Energy-Drink Buzz is Unmistakable. Health Impact Unknown.” After reading a respective article, each participant then answered a questionnaire that included questions on how he or she felt after reading the story. Results showed the highest level of anger among participants when they perceived the crisis to be highly predictable and highly controllable ($M = 5.12$, $SD = 1.81$, $p < .001$); this was the case regardless of condition. They felt the most sadness when a crisis was perceived as highly predictable; this was true whether the crisis was perceived as less controllable ($M = 5.11$, $SD = 1.88$, $p < .001$) or more controllable ($M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.73$, $p < .001$). This study showed how perceptions of crisis predictability and controllability that were received from a news article influenced participants’ emotions. However, its shortcomings in relation to the current study were two-fold. First, it did not assess the specific media frames employed by individual articles in conveying crisis controllability and predictability. This information would have been beneficial in measuring how these factors correlated with the audience’s emotions and coping methods. Second, none of the articles used in the

study related to a terrorist event. Further study was therefore necessary to determine how the media frames terrorist events.

While Jin (2010) measured the influence of predictability and controllability perceptions after reading news articles on an audience's emotion and coping strategy, Kühne and Schemer (2013) sought to understand how anger-focused news frames impacted an audience's cognitive response. Their study showed that these cognitive responses were directly linked to the emotional frames to which an audience was exposed. Seventy-one participants were divided into three groups; one was a control group and not exposed to any frames, one group was exposed to sadness frames, while the third was exposed to anger frames. Those in the anger and sadness frame conditions first read short pieces about a traffic accident that incorporated their respective frame conditions. Those in the control group without frame exposure wrote down their daily activities. Those in the frame conditions completed a survey regarding their emotional reaction to the piece; each item on the survey was ranked on a seven-point scale. All groups then read the same single news article regarding a road safety public policy program and completed the same survey. Results showed that the anger frame group ($M = 5.03$, $SD = 1.72$) expressed more anger than those in the sadness and control group. The anger group also displayed greater affinity for punishment related information ($M = 1.77$, $SD = 1.21$), punitive measures ($M = 5.99$, $SD = 1.20$), and punishment of those responsible ($M = 6.58$, $SD = 1.20$) than other groups. To examine the indirect effects of anger, researchers conducted mediation testing. They found that anger acted as the biggest mediator between exposure to the anger frame and each of the participants' preference for disciplinary actions, as well as a behavioral intention to inflict these

disciplinary measures. In summary, Kühne and Schemer confirmed that anger and sadness media frames have a specific, measured impact on audiences. However, because the topic of study involved a car accident, it was not fully applicable to a large-scale event like a terrorist attack. More importantly, however, it was unclear how the articles used in this study implemented sadness and anger frames. The current study is needed to understand how emotional frames like anger and sadness played a role in media coverage during a terrorist event.

Kim and Cameron's (2011) two-part study built on the understanding of emotional news frames by exploring how anger and sadness-focused news frames influenced an audience's perception of corporate messaging during a crisis event. Their findings suggested that news reports employing emotional sadness frames were more effective in encouraging audience attention and favorability toward organizational crisis messaging than those that employed emotional anger frames. Using a simulated crisis consisting of a cell phone battery explosion, researchers first used news frames, corporate responses, and emotion within these corporate responses as independent variables to measure the emotional conditions of 240 undergraduate college students at a Midwestern university. In the second phase of the experiment, they also measured how students responded to these corporate appeals, assigned blame, and signaled their upcoming actions toward the company. In the first phase, participants were assigned to anger and sadness frame groups; each was presented with news stories reflecting respective media frames and asked to indicate their emotions and attention to the news. An ANOVA test showed that anger frames caused participants to pay less attention to the news item ($M = 3.47$, $SD = 1.23$), while sadness frames caused them to pay more attention ($M = 4.05$, SD

= 1.23). Results also showed that anger frames caused participants to react more negatively to the company at fault ($M = 2.03$, $SD = 1.00$) versus those who were exposed to sadness frames ($M = 2.36$, $SD = 1.13$). The second phase of the study measured participants' response to two of the company's crisis communication items. The first was punishment messages, defined as those that focused on "how the company will accept full responsibility and be 'punished' by the law" (Kim & Cameron, 2011, p. 835). The second were relief messages, which were those that focused on how "the victims received proper treatment and are well now" (Kim & Cameron, 2011, p. 835). Researchers found that "relief focused" messages were seen as being more credible than punishment-related messages in both anger and sadness groups. For example, those in the sadness frame group preferred relief messages ($M = 4.33$, $SD = 1.42$) more than they preferred punishment messages ($M = 3.91$, $SD = 1.34$), while those in the anger group also displayed a preference for relief ($M = 3.84$, $SD = 1.21$) over punishment messages ($M = 3.49$, $SD = 1.21$). Like prior studies, this study provided evidence for the influence that emotional news frames have on audiences, particularly as it relates to their attention to the news and response to a corporation's crisis messaging strategy. However, it represented the shortcoming of much of current literature because it focused on how frames influenced an audience rather than how the media incorporated these frames into its coverage. It also focused exclusively on a corporate crisis, which has far different characteristics than a terrorist event. The current study contributed to literature in both of these arenas.

According to this research, emotional frames have an undoubted impact on an audience's emotional state and coping strategy during certain crisis events. However, the

primary shortcoming of these studies was their lack of focus on how these emotional frames were incorporated into coverage. They also lacked a clear focus on emotional frames during terrorist events, instead focusing on corporate crises. To help fill in these gaps, the current study examined how newspapers framed runners following the Boston Marathon Bombings.

Distance Running Displays Individual Elements

In addition to involving emotional elements, human-interest frames often focus on the individual motivations associated with human elements. Distance running is often fueled by individual motivations. The following studies explained the diversity of running participants by exploring these individual dynamics as expressed first-hand by runners. According to research, running's individual dynamics include runners' reasons for participation, a desire to overcome personal obstacles, and a goal of using running to achieve a personal best. Together, they provide support for the need to understand how running's individual elements are comprehended and framed by the mainstream media during terrorist events.

Thomas, Price, and Schau (2013) described running as an economic activity, which was "comprised of consumers, producers, and resources" (p. 1012). Individuals were those who ran or participated in running related events (i.e., volunteers at races, race directors, runners themselves); organizations included running shoe stores and race organizations (i.e., Pacers Running Stores, the Boston Athletic Association); and running resources included brands (i.e., Nike), races (i.e., the Boston Marathon), and places where runners gathered (i.e., parks, running trails, the gym, etc.). Thomas et al. used in-depth interviews with 83 people, a study of two online running forums, and participant

observation. Individual-level themes sought by Thomas et al. during in-depth interviews included how running factored into the lives of each individual and their thoughts on how the broader running community played a role in their running lives. They looked for similar themes when observing two running forums encompassing both elite and recreational runners, as well as observing a running club with 1,200 members. Their findings first indicated that runners differed in their degree of commitment and reasons for participating (i.e., some enjoyed competition, while others ran simply to stay healthy), as well as in their definition of what it meant to be a “runner.” For example, some believed that simply taking to the roads without any experience constituted running, while others saw it as a serious endeavor with the goal of setting time records and winning races. Second, results showed that these competing interests and demands created stress among individual runners, as well as among the organizational and resource-based running entities. For example, one experienced runner expressed disdain for running stores because they attracted newer participants with less skill and dedication to the activity. To him, this undermined his personal identity as a “true” runner (Thomas et al., 2013, p. 1020). Thomas et al. provided extensive analysis of the inner workings of running’s consumption community and the individual dynamics that drive it forward. However, it provided no understanding of how these individual dynamics may be perceived and framed by outsiders, especially the media.

Shipway, Holloway, and Jones (2013) drilled down into the running activity by focusing exclusively on individual runners. Although their study sought to identify shared themes that united runners into a community, they uncovered several individual-level themes. Their ethnographic study utilized in-depth interviews with 20 runners who

reflected different skill levels and time as runners, as well as observation methods over a period of two years at international running events and two running clubs. Their findings indicated that runners sought to establish personal identity by participating in running events. Study participants often associated these events with strong feelings of personal satisfaction and the belief that they could overcome other obstacles in their lives.

Participants also reflected individual desires to push themselves beyond their unique physical and mental limits. Shipway et al. showed that those who practice running do so for a variety of individual reasons and motivations. However, this knowledge led to questions of how outsiders might take note of the individual motivators that surround runners. This study aimed to help fill this gap.

As prior literature shows, running is a diverse sport, with many levels of participants. Marathon runners represent one subsection. Shipway and Jones (2008) provided context for the individual motivations of this running subgroup by conducting an ethnographic study of the social and cultural world of sport tourism with marathoners who traveled to the 2007 Flora London Marathon. The study used several qualitative research methods, including interviews and observations. The final study results included insight from 35 Scottish marathon participants, as well as several other runners from Cyprus, during a time period 48 hours before the race, during the race, and 24 hours after the race. They also observed other marathoners on the course during the day of the race. According to results, runners said that completing the marathon represented a high degree of personal effort. Researchers also identified “a need to persevere” (Shipway & Jones, 2008, p. 70) among marathon runners, often at the expense of family and personal relationships and their overall health. Finally, Shipway and Jones found that marathoners

believed their participation in the event provided them with significant long-term gains, including confidence in their ability to overcome obstacles. Shipway and Jones' ethnographic study provided evidence for the idea that marathoners possess a highly personalized outlook on running. Extensive media coverage generated during the first terrorist event of its kind at one of the largest marathon events in the world provided insight into how an outside party (the media) took note of these individual trends.

As these studies suggested, running, and those who participate in it, has displayed distinctly personal elements. These components have been observed in the competing demands and purposes among running organizations and individuals who support them, as well as in the personal motives that encourage runners to simply go for a run. What was still unknown, however, was how these personal elements are perceived and portrayed outside the sport of running, especially by the media. The current study added to existing knowledge of runners by understanding how the media framed them during the first large-scale terrorist event at a race.

Community Dynamics Create Meaning for Distance Runners

Although literature showed that running is a highly individualized activity, it also showed that community and group dynamics provided extensive meaning for those who participated. These community dynamics include a shared desire to prioritize the greater running community over individual-level demands; a reliance on other runners for motivation, camaraderie, and education; and shared language and dress. The following literature explained these community factors using first-hand information from those who are part of the running community.

Thomas et al.'s (2013) study of running's heterogeneous elements showed how community dynamics kept runners together in spite of their differences. Through interviews, they found that runners relied on running-related resources to facilitate community. These resources included other runners, running organizations, running stores, and running-related brands and goods (i.e., running shoes, clothing, etc.). For example, one study participant explained how online running communities had acted as a resource to enhance his experience:

I like [the website] because it's a community where there are people who think the same things you do are important and can really appreciate when someone knocks 20 seconds off their 10km personal best or something: that realize how significant that is. You need to think you're not just insane, that there are other people out there like you. (Thomas et al., 2013, p. 1021)

Thomas et al. also found that participants made note of running's individual elements and the presence of the competing demands they generated, but also expressed an overarching desire to overcome these differences in favor of the larger community. For example, participants highlighted how differences in their experience (i.e., elite runners vs. recreational runners) created a unique community with a simple, shared bond of running. For example, running stores, which fell under the study's producer category, sought to address the needs of all runners, regardless of experience level. In total, Thomas et al. provided extensive fodder for the argument that running is a product of community dynamics. However, the study's results only reflected the understanding of those exclusively inside the running community. It was unclear how well these dynamics are perceived and understood by outside parties. The current study attempted to examine how the mainstream media picked up on and framed these community elements during an

event that provided the running community with more mainstream media coverage than usual.

Shipway et al.'s (2013) ethnographic study utilizing in-depth interviews and observation of 20 runners over a period of two years narrowed the definition of the running community to those who practiced the activity. It showcased the importance of community, specifically among those who considered themselves to be distance runners. Findings showed that running-based gatherings, like running clubs, provided runners with a sense of social identity and motivation. The study cited one participant who said, "While the solitude of a solo run remains one of the great joys of my running, I find myself more motivated when I plug into my running club family" (Shipway et al., 2013, p. 266). The social schema of running also provided runners with knowledge of how to properly train for and run races. Participants learned how to avoid and cope with injuries and shared a common desire to push through pain and injuries at almost any cost necessary. Shipway et al. (2013) described injuries and pain as a "badge of honor" among groups of runners (p. 268). In fact, when they were sidelined by these injuries, runners expressed a sense of separation from their running social networks. This separation was one of the most difficult aspects of being injured. Runners in the study also expressed community through shared terminology that had little meaning to those outside of running's social world. For example, runners used phrases like "blowing up," "hitting the wall," and "getting miles in your legs" (Shipway et al., 2013, p. 270). Finally, researchers identified that runners saw their membership in the running network as a work in progress, which required ongoing dedication and involvement. Overall, Shipway et al. showed that community played a strong role in those who practiced the running lifestyle.

However, because these results were obtained through an ethnographic study, they again provided a one-sided understanding of running's community dynamics and how those outside of running's social circle perceive them.

In a published ethnographic study that contributed to Shipway et al.'s (2013) two-year long overarching study, Shipway and Jones (2008) tried to understand the social constructs specifically surrounding marathon runners who traveled to the 2007 Flora London Marathon. Researchers explored runners who traveled to the marathon because they believed this represented a group with a heightened level of dedication to the activity. Results showed that participants worked hard to maintain their standing within running's social network and viewed their participation in the marathon as a key way to achieve this. The study described how, during the marathon and the weekend events surrounding it, runners left their typical, daily identities behind and came to identify as Flora London Marathon participants. Because of this, they saw themselves as a group that possessed more dedication to distance running than those who did not travel to races. Like previous studies, researchers found that runners expressed their membership in the running social group through clothing and language. For example, many wore shirts from previous races to show their running-related achievements and used similar language or word cues. Participants also discussed how their dedication to the running social group had played out while training for the marathon. For example, some runners said training runs with their local running club had trumped time with friends and family, who often had trouble understanding why running was so important to them. Finally, participants indicated that they related their success or failure in the race to how it would impact their standing in the overall running community. For example, if they were injured during the

race and forced to withdraw, they took pains to save face and avoid appearing weak to fellow runners. Like previous studies, this study served as evidence that runners believed community was a primary influence in their running experience. However, further study was deemed necessary to understand how this community dynamic is understood and portrayed by outside observers.

This literature suggested that community factors provide meaning for many runners. However, because each of these studies were conducted in an ethnographic setting and reflected only the thoughts of those who identified as members of the running community, they provided limited understanding of these dynamics and how they are perceived by outsiders. Insight into how the running community is framed by the media supplemented existing information in this area.

A review of current literature showed that the media has frequently employed human-interest frames during crisis events. It also showed how human-interest frames and emotion in news coverage has influenced audiences. Finally, the preceding literature showed how runners are shaped by specific individual and community elements. A key gap remained in terms of how news coverage used human-interest frames to portray the community, individual, and emotional elements of runners during a crisis. The current study supplemented existing literature to help fill in this gap. The following research questions were selected for this study:

RQ1: How did major U.S. newspaper coverage frame the individual level responses of distance runners during and following the Boston Marathon Bombings?

RQ2: How did major U.S. newspaper coverage frame the community level responses of distance runners during and following the Boston Marathon Bombings?

RQ3: How did major U.S. newspaper coverage use emotional frames to portray distance runners following the Boston Marathon Bombings?

Method

This study relied on a qualitative content analysis to examine how U.S. newspaper coverage of the Boston Marathon Bombings framed runners and their responses to the event. These frames highlighted certain ideas, words, and rhetorical symbols while downgrading others, thereby presenting a well-crafted picture to readers (Hallahan, 1999). These frames were especially well suited to a qualitative research method that could account for their nuances. A qualitative content analysis was selected for the current study because it represented a systematic way to answer the research questions regarding how these frames were used (Foss, 2009).

While the qualitative content analysis method is designed to account for the explicit and implicit rhetoric present in this coverage, it could not quantify or speak to the frequency of these items because of its qualitative nature (Stacks, 2011). Because of this, the results of this study are not generalizable. Despite these drawbacks, it remained the best method to obtain the kind of in-depth, qualitative information sought from the artifact.

Text Selection

This study examined how major U.S. newspapers framed runners in their coverage of the Boston Marathon Bombings between the dates of April 15 and May 13, 2013. U.S. newspapers were selected because they were located in the country where the attack occurred. Additionally, because the 2013 Boston Marathon included runners from across the country, researchers believed it was necessary to look at national-level publications. Seven major U.S. newspapers provided a suitable census for research because of their high circulation rates, which lead to greater influence and generate their

reputation as national news sources. The frames used by these publications were more likely to reach a larger audience than those present in newspapers with lower circulation rates. The dates of April 15 through May 13, 2013 were selected because they represented a month of coverage following the attack. Because these dates represented coverage immediately following, as well as several weeks after the attacks, they provided a well-rounded look at how runners were framed in coverage throughout various phases of this print coverage.

Publications were selected from the top U.S. newspapers, defined as having a total average circulation of more than 500,000 on the Alliance for Audited Media's March 2013 list of U.S. newspaper circulation. The Alliance's March 2013 list was compiled just before the Boston Marathon Bombings, and showed the prominence of these publications in the time period surrounding the event. Lexis Nexis served as the database for the study because of its reputation for aggregating a large number of news sources in a single online database. A census was sought from the following seven publications: *Los Angeles Times*, *New York Daily News*, *New York Times*, *New York Post*, *USA Today*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *Washington Post*.

Researchers drew their artifacts from the Lexis Nexis database by searching for articles between April 15 and May 13, 2013 from the aforementioned publications. They searched for articles with the term "boston marathon bombings" anywhere in the article and the term "running" in the article headline, highlight, or lead. By searching for articles with the term "running" in these locations, researchers isolated articles that included runners more prominently in their coverage from those that focused on other topics surrounding the event. Searching within these publications yielded 39 initial results. By

extracting newspaper articles from web-based publication articles and blogs and removing duplicate articles, opinion pieces, and those unrelated to the topic, researchers narrowed the results to a census of 15 articles from the following five publications: *New York Daily News*, *New York Post*, *New York Times*, *USA Today*, and *Washington Post*. See Appendix A for a table that describes the census and two samples of the artifact.

Procedures

Researchers measured three constructs during their assessment of major U.S. newspaper coverage of the Boston Marathon Bombings. To measure these constructs in a systematic way, researchers created a unique instrument. Researchers relied on insight gleaned during an earlier pilot study, which directed them to focus on themes of how community, individual, and emotional elements were present in this coverage. Specific questions were then crafted to gain the kind of detail and depth necessary to measure these three constructs.

First, to understand how major U.S. newspapers framed the individual level responses of runners to the bombings, researchers probed how each artifact portrayed the individual motivations of runners to participate in running events. They also examined how individual elements played out in coverage of runners who were unable to finish the race. Second, to understand how these articles portrayed the community responses of runners, researchers examined how the articles showed these factors influencing runners during the marathon and after. It also explored how articles portrayed the relationships runners had with one another, how they helped one another in the aftermath, as well as how community motivations fueled their desire to return to Boston and other running events. Third, researchers measured the use of emotion in these articles by exploring how

they framed the emotional motivations of runners following Boston. For example, were runners shown as sad, angry, or something else? Researchers also measured how these articles used emotion in their portrayal of runners as victims or survivors of the bombings. To do this, researchers examined how articles portrayed runners and their plans to return to Boston and/or other running events.

Qualitative content analysis allowed researchers to collect data on these measures for their rhetorical significance to running-related communication practitioners (Foss, 2009). To code these measures, researchers applied one copy of the instrument (Appendix B) to each artifact. Responses were coded in individual Word documents corresponding with each unique artifact. Responses were also supported with detailed notes, including quotes, descriptions, and any other pertinent information.

Data Analysis

Three research questions formed the foundation of this study's data analysis methods. They sought to understand how sampled major U.S. newspaper coverage portrayed the individual and community responses of runners in the aftermath of the Boston Marathon Bombings, as well as how they used emotional frames to portray runners following Boston. This included assessing how these articles portrayed runners as victims and/or survivors. After completing the analysis sheets, researchers compiled all responses in a master instrument and used each research question as a guide to identify common patterns and themes. Themes that answered respective research questions were explained and substantiated with supporting material from each article, including details, descriptions, and quotes. Researchers then outlined the research report to ensure the results were organized and thorough before producing the entire written report of the

qualitative data. During the writing and editing process, researchers consulted individual articles for further details that added depth and insight to the results.

Results

This study sought to answer three research questions, which addressed how major U.S. newspapers framed the individual and community motivations of runners in the month after the Boston Marathon Bombings, as well as how these newspapers incorporated emotional frames into their overall discussion. This section presents the results of the study, organized according to research question. Analysis uncovered several themes indicating that this coverage portrayed runners as the result of both individual and community dynamics. This coverage also conveyed fear, vulnerability, sadness, and runner persistence as part of its emotional framing strategy.

Individual Motivations Drive Runners

The first research question sought to understand how major U.S. newspapers framed the individual-level responses of runners during and after the Boston Marathon Bombings. Results showed that major U.S. newspaper coverage of the Boston Marathon Bombings framed these individual dynamics as part of its discussion of why runners participated in the activity, as well as how they processed events in Boston. Two main themes emerged that depicted how runners were committed to running and how they used the activity as a coping method for various life challenges.

Runners demonstrated personal commitment. Coverage portrayed running as a commitment made by runners over an extended period of time. As part of its discussion of this commitment, articles frequently noted how runners had participated in multiple races or Boston Marathons. For example, an article noted that one runner had participated in the event six times (Dorell, 2013), while another called a runner “a veteran marathoner” who had participated in five Boston Marathons (Leonnig, 2013, para. 1).

Another article highlighted a runner who was about to run his 93rd marathon (Sheinin, 2013).

Coverage also portrayed running as an irreplaceable part of runners' daily lives. For example, one article covered a female who had lost her leg as a result of the bombs, opening with a description of how one of her most important worries following the injury was whether she would be able to run again (Gowen, 2013). Another article described how two autistic twins who had run the Boston Marathon consistently trained three days each week (Kilgannon, 2013). Sheinin (2013) explained that many runners made a daily commitment to the activity, describing a particular runner as one of the following:

Pavement-pounders, the dew-sweepers, the lunch-hour escapists and the hard-core runners—just one of the thousands who daily take to the trails, the backroads and the oval tracks of the region to catch up with a friend or lose themselves in thought over a good, hard run. (para. 4)

Running helped individuals cope with challenges. In addition to framing their commitment to running, coverage also showed how runners used the activity as a coping mechanism for their individual challenges. For example, an article described a runner who thought of the activity as a method of working through his daily life: “It’s something that allows me to clear my head—a safe place for me to go,” he said (Sheinin, 2013, para. 5). Running was also described as a lifeline during serious illness. An article described the “healing power of running” for a female who had undergone treatment for breast cancer, as well as for her husband who had been diagnosed with Multiple Sclerosis (Kilgannon, 2013, para. 27). Another article pointed out a husband’s support for his wife who ran the 2013 Boston Marathon a year after undergoing a double mastectomy (Longman, 2013).

Analysis of major U.S. newspaper coverage in the month after the Boston Marathon Bombings portrayed the individual motivations and responses of runners. Analysis showed how this coverage framed the individual commitment runners made to running. It also portrayed runners as dependent on running because it helped them cope with individual life challenges, including major illness.

Community Consisted of Close Ties, Shared Understanding of Boston

The second research question asked how major U.S. newspaper coverage framed the community-level responses and motivations of runners in the wake of the Boston Marathon Bombings. Analysis showed that coverage framed these community motivations and responses in three primary ways, which emphasized the relationships runners had with other runners and their connections with supporters such as friends, family, and race spectators. Coverage also showed how they helped one another during the 2013 Boston Marathon and how they demonstrated a shared understanding of the Boston Marathon.

Runners were connected to each other. Coverage first framed runners' community motivations and responses in the period surrounding the attack by highlighting their connection to each other. According to coverage, this community included family, friends, and unspoken bonds with other runners.

Coverage indicated that families bonded over running. For example, one article emphasized these connections by highlighting one family's shared dedication to running. Twin sons who had run in the Boston Marathon were described as being trained by their father (Kilgannon, 2013). They had begun running at the age of eight when their parents

made it a family activity. The article also described how the father had accompanied one of his sons in running the 2013 Boston Marathon.

In addition to family ties, articles showed that runners were often friends with fellow runners. For example, one article highlighted a town outside of Boston which it described as “running crazed” (Gowen, 2013, para. 4). Because of the town’s emphasis on running and the friendships it created, most residents felt deeply impacted by the Boston Marathon Bombings. “It’s like six degrees of separation. Everybody knows someone who is affected,” the article quoted one resident (Gowen, 2013, para. 16). Another article highlighted this friendship dynamic when it explained how two runners were almost to the finish line when the blasts occurred: “Nancy Costa was running for the finish line at the Boston Marathon with her friend Jill Edmonds of Salem, N.H., when suddenly she was thrown by a blast” (Dorell, 2013, para. 1). The same article demonstrated this friendship dynamic when it covered a runner who had traveled from Pittsburgh to cheer on her friend in the marathon (Dorell, 2013). Coverage also indicated that in some cases, friendships had formed over a mutual affinity for running. One article highlighted this theme in its description of three females who had forged a friendship upon discovering a mutual birthday month, similar personalities, and a “love of running” (Shin, 2013, para. 3). Their strong bond was emphasized when the article covered the injuries two of the friends incurred while cheering for the third friend in the 2013 Boston Marathon. After explaining how the friends were taken to separate hospitals following their injuries, the article described their concern over each other: ““Where is Liza?” Loring kept asking, her father Dan Loring recalled. In the days that followed, the friends

eventually were able to connect by phone, including Tuesday when Loring called to wish Cheney a happy birthday” (Shin, 2013, para. 6).

According to this news coverage, the personal connection runners shared with one another even extended to runners whom they did not know first-hand. This link was portrayed as an invisible, unspoken bond among members of the running community. Quotes from runners often reflected the group; instead of referring to “I,” runners often referred to “us” or “we.” For example, in one article, a runner said, “We’re those crazy people, out there at 5 a.m. We’re going to push on” (Sheinin, 2013, para. 9). The same article described how runners acknowledged each other when out for their runs in the days following Boston. It indicated that while runners had always shared a common bond, it was stronger after the Boston Marathon Bombings. According to a runner quoted in the article, “You always tend to acknowledge other runners, but I think people were a little more aware of each other” (Sheinin, 2013, para. 7). Coverage also showed these bonds when highlighting the Boston-themed apparel many runners wore in the days after the attack. According to one article, a participant had “joined other participants Wednesday in a show of solidarity by wearing blue marathon shirts and jackets trimmed in gold as they walked near the finish” (Longman, 2013, para. 22). Another article described runners during a running event in the weeks after the Boston Marathon Bombings who expressed their solidarity by wearing “I run for Boston” t-shirts (Ruderman, 2013, para. 19)

Running community included supporters. Coverage portrayed those who did not run, but instead provided support for the activity, as part of running’s community. Coverage primarily achieved this by highlighting individuals who were at the Boston

Marathon to cheer on their friends and family members. The presence of these details suggested that this support was a pivotal part of the Boston Marathon experience for runners and generated community. In some cases, this support function was noted in descriptions of particular individuals. For example, in its coverage of how the bombings uniquely impacted two twin brothers with autism, an article explained how their mother had waited in the stands at the finish line for the first son to cross the finish line (Kilgannon, 2013). Another article reported exclusively on a son who was seriously injured while waiting for his father to come across the finish line:

The math and science teacher, who had been waiting for his dad to finish running his final Boston Marathon, struggled to his feet, tore off his sweatshirt, which was on fire, and his shirt, which was wet with blood, and ran. (Svrluga, 2013, para. 1)

Individuals also noted their supportive function when providing first-hand accounts for the coverage: “I was there to watch my son run. The first bomb went off and I said, ‘That’s a bomb,’ and then, all of a sudden, boom! Another one went off” (Celona, Fenton, & Mongelli, 2013, para. 35).

In addition to portraying the supportive role of friends and family, coverage framed general spectators as part of the running community’s supporters. Spectators along the race route were portrayed as providing moral support and encouragement for participants. For example, one article noted how a runner drew enjoyment at races from high-fiving people along the race route at water stops (Kilgannon, 2013). A separate article portrayed the support of fans that would line the Boston Marathon race route: “It has long been a holiday celebration of neighborhoods and community and continuity, with the course lined by hundreds of thousands of fans, drawn by a generational and civic pull, watching the race as their parents and grandparents had” (Longman, 2013, para. 16).

A final article summed up the unifying role that spectators played when it quoted a race director: “Marathons bring out the best of the human spirit and unite our cities and towns,” she said (Vinton, 2013, para. 2).

Runners helped each other after the blasts. In its portrayal of community dynamics, coverage also emphasized how the running community helped each other in the aftermath of the bombings. For example, in one article, a runner acknowledged how strangers had helped her reconnect with her husband during the chaos following the race (Longman, 2013). Articles also explained how runners who had been stopped on the course immediately moved to donate blood for those who were injured. For example, one noted “More than 5,700 runners had yet to cross the finish line at the time of the blasts. Runners continued to cross up until 2:57 p.m. Many would donate blood to the injured” (“Running Into,” 2013, Street map graphic). Another article described how some runners had “changed direction to nearby Massachusetts General Hospital to donate blood” (Celona et al., 2013, para. 32).

Runners had a common understanding of Boston’s significance. In addition to emphasizing the connections runners shared with one another and their supporters, coverage also framed the communal motivations of runners by emphasizing the unique significance they assigned to the Boston Marathon. Coverage achieved this by incorporating information on how runners recognized the historical significance of the race, characterized it as a normally celebratory place, and expressed similar recognition of the pain inflicted by the bombings.

Background information on the race’s significance to runners frequently included information on the annual, historic nature of the marathon. For example, one article

highlighted the history of the race and its standing as “one of the nation’s longest running and most popular marathons, which draws runners from all over the USA” (Dorell, 2013, para. 4). A separate article explained, “It has long been a holiday celebration” where people came out to watch the race, held on the third Monday each April “as their parents and grandparents did” (Longman, 2013, para. 16). Another article referred to the “two explosions near the finish line of Boston’s historic marathon” (Vinton, 2013, para. 6). Similar articles uniquely noted that the race was held on Patriot’s Day (Celona et al., 2013) and described it as “iconic” (Gowen, 2013, para. 12).

Coverage also indicated that runners considered the Boston Marathon to be a place of celebration. For example, one article described the usual finish line scene as one of “completion and celebration” (Longman, 2013, para. 1). It also explained how before the bombings the finish line served as a location where, “the ache of 26.2 miles melts into exhausted gratification” (Longman, 2013, para. 3). A separate article described a runner’s text conversation with a friend while cheering on another friend: “Marathon Monday is pretty amazing to witness,” she said (Shin, 2013, para. 1). A final article described a husband who had “just begun to celebrate his wife’s successful finish of the Boston Marathon” when the explosions went off (Dorell, 2013, para. 12).

Finally, coverage signaled the shared importance of the Boston Marathon by indicating how runners felt a common understanding of the bombings’ negative impact on the normally festive scene. One article explained how the 2013 finish line scene became one of “tragic disruption” where tourniquets had been “tightened around mangled legs” (Longman, 2013, para. 1). Another article explained how the bombing had left “an invisible, permanent mark on anyone who has ever loved to run” (Sheinin, 2013, para. 2).

A final article quoted a race director's belief that all runners possessed an exceptional understanding of the race and its implications: "There's a solidarity within the running community because we've all been there. We know the training and the heartache" (Whiteside, 2013, para. 11). It went on to quote another race director who said, "This is a tragic day for all of us in the running community" (Vinton, 2013, para. 2).

Coverage provided by major U.S. newspapers following the Boston Marathon Bombings provided a viewpoint on the community dynamics among runners. In response to the second research question, analysis found that this coverage framed the running community as a close-knit group that formed deep connections with friends and family. It also indicated that the running community often encompassed those who supported runners by cheering them on during races. Finally, coverage showed how the running community provided assistance to each other in the wake of the Boston Marathon Bombings and demonstrated how the running group was motivated by a shared understanding of the Boston Marathon and its meaning.

Emotional Frames Emphasized Fear, Sadness, and Defiance

The study's third research question asked how major U.S. newspaper coverage used emotional frames to portray runners following the Boston Marathon Bombings. Investigation revealed that this coverage utilized fear frames to portray runners in the immediate and long-term aftermath of the Boston Marathon Bombings. It also showed how coverage used sadness frames to depict the impact of the bombings on runners. Finally, coverage demonstrated that in spite of this fear and sadness, runners were persistent and determined to continue running.

Frames used fear. Coverage incorporated fear as an emotional theme into its description of runners. This was first evident in how it described runners at the scene and in the early stages of the crisis when many details of what had occurred were still unknown. Articles described the scene as chaotic as runners were halted and removed from the course after the blasts. For example, one article wrote, “Runners, their loved ones, and race workers described a scene of chaos, smoke, and blood that reminded some of war zones far away across the globe” (Dorell, 2013, para. 4). The same article explained how runners reacted to this scene when it quoted a runner who “started sprinting” after hearing the blasts and whose voice was described as still shaking during an interview 40 minutes after the bombings (Dorell, 2013, para. 2). In another article, a runner said, “I saw a trash can go up, I saw fire, I saw smoke. I saw what looked like someone hitting the ground. I just turned around and ran for my life” (Celona et al., 2013, para. 25). Another article quoted a runner who indicated that other runners were confused and fearful as they passed along rumors to one another (Kilgannon, 2013).

This theme of fear also emerged as articles covered long-term impacts on runners. According to articles, the frightening after-effects of Boston were felt in the personal lives of runners, as well as in their communities. For example, one runner who participated in the 2013 Boston Marathon alluded to the long-term impacts of the bombings when he noted that for fellow 2013 Boston runners, running would be difficult. “It was something a lot of people who were [in Boston] aren’t going to be able to do the same way as before, if at all,” he said (Sheinin, 2013, para. 5). Another article, published more than two weeks after the event, highlighted two autistic twins who were still experiencing negative repercussions from their experience at the race. “The Schneider

twins are still feeling the effects from the trauma of running in last month's Boston Marathon," it wrote (Kilgannon, 2013, para. 4). It also explained how one of the twins "has since had trouble sleeping and keeps stopping during training runs" (Kilgannon, 2013, para. 19). A final article reported on the impact of the bombings on a nearby town full of runners. It said, "Mothers couldn't sleep. Children couldn't sleep." It also described how the attack had uniquely threatened the sense of security of children in the town: "Most of them have little memory of 9/11, so this attack threatened their sense of security in ways they could not have imagined before" (Gowen, 2013, para. 18).

As part of its discussion of the bombings' long-term effects on runners, coverage also portrayed them as vulnerable during future running events. It first did this by describing how the Boston Marathon had undermined the assumed sense of security at running events. One article bluntly noted how the blasts had altered the long-term status quo for running events when it stated that, "life has changed even for smaller races" (Whiteside, 2013, para. 3). It also quoted a race director who said "It's a wake-up call. A jolt back to reality that the world is a dangerous place" (Whiteside, 2013, para. 6).

Another article opened by stating that the bombings were responsible for "highlighting the vulnerability of massive races like the New York City Marathon" (Vinton, 2013, para. 1), while a separate article noted how the sense of security at two smaller New York City events during the week after the Boston Marathon Bombings had been undermined. According to the article, the security measures at the races served as "a measure of how immediate the impact of the Boston Marathon Bombings has been on New York City, even at two relatively low profile events" (Ruderman, 2013, para. 3). Another article incorporated the viewpoint of an experienced runner who believed she was no longer

safe, particularly at large running events like the Boston Marathon. It said that this runner “thinks she might dial back her competitive schedule now, after what happened in Boston” (Sheinin, 2013, para. 15). It also went on to quote the runner:

I thought to myself, “Well, I guess I’m going to have to keep my races low-key.” Stay here in Manassas and Fairfax and run my small races. Because now, you’ll think twice if you want to go to a large race: Is there going to be an issue? (Sheinin, 2013, para. 16)

As part of their discussion of fear and runner vulnerability, articles also portrayed the physical difficulty of securing individual races, even with heightened security measures in place after Boston. For example, one article described security measures at a New York City race the weekend after the Boston Marathon Bombings, including fewer porta-potties, the removal of trash-cans, and a requirement that runners place their belongings in clear plastic bags instead of backpacks (Conley, 2013). However, the same article also reported on the anxiety that had occurred among law enforcement when, in spite of these security precautions, a cyclist carrying a suspicious backpack had evaded police. Another article highlighted the large number of individuals present at running events that made these events difficult to secure when it discussed the New York Marathon, “which is expected to draw more than 40,000 competitors” (Vinton, 2013, para. 3) and highlighted the Brooklyn Half-Marathon, “which can field as many as 15,000 participants” (para. 5). In another article, acknowledgement of runner vulnerability was blatantly stated when it quoted the mayor of Oklahoma City regarding the difficulty of securing his city’s upcoming marathon: “It’s a 26-mile venue that goes through other municipalities, and there’s an acceptance among the participants, the organizers, and spectators that there’s a limit to how much you can secure” (Whiteside, 2013, para. 13).

Coverage used sadness frames. In addition to highlighting a sense of fear and vulnerability following the Boston Marathon Bombings, major U.S. newspaper coverage also incorporated sadness frames into its discussion. Descriptions of the event used vivid terms to convey a sense of sorrow. One article described how the bombings had “cast a dark shadow over the running world” (Vinton, 2013, para. 1). A separate article described how the event had been “marred” by the terrorist attack (Dorell, 2013, para. 4). Another piece wrote about how the finish line on Boylston Street had become a place of tragedy similar to other terrorist attack locations: “With the bombings that killed 3 and wounded more than 170, Boylston joined Oklahoma City and ground zero and Shanksville, Pa., as the latest name on a grim terror roll call” (Longman, 2013, para. 3).

Sadness about the bombings was also conveyed directly by runners. In one article, a runner described how the knowledge that her family could have been in the location near the blasts had sobered her excitement over having a successful race: “The excitement of doing well is completely overshadowed by knowing the reason they weren’t in those stands,” she said (Leonnig, 2013, para. 6). In another example, the parents of both autistic sons were portrayed as sad over how the bombings had affected a normally positive activity for their sons:

She and her husband, Allan, introduced their sons to distance running as an opportunity to participate in events with nonautistic people and to be exposed to real-world simulation. They never expected to run in a marathon thrown into tumult by a bombing. (Kilgannon, 2013, para. 3)

A final example portrayed how all runners, including those who were not in Boston, felt a sense of sadness, which in turn overshadowed their running. The article described and quoted a runner who indicated her belief that the event had affected the typical “happy” nature of running:

One of Beven's mottos, which she uses with all her clients, is: "Run happy." But suddenly, it sounds like less of a hokey reminder than some distant goal, out there in the future. Maybe you can reach it again someday, but it won't be easy and it won't be soon. In the meantime: "You try and think of other things. You make the workout a little harder. You focus on your breathing. You try and be as normal as you can." (Sheinin, 2013, para. 8)

The running community displayed perseverance. Despite portraying runners as fearful, susceptible to attack at running events, and sad following the Boston Marathon Bombings, emotional coverage emphasized their perseverance. It indicated that runners and their events were continuing as planned. It also provided insight into the motivations behind this persistence.

Some articles highlighted small- and large-scale running events that were taking place as planned, even with new security precautions. For example, multiple articles covered smaller-scale running events in New York City the weekend after the Boston Marathon Bombings, indicating that despite increased security, they had continued as planned (Conley, 2013; Ruderman, 2013; Whiteside, 2013). One article spoke with directors of other running events who demonstrated a commitment to ensure the safety of runners, but believed their races would continue as planned. For example, it noted that the Army Marathon in Killeen, Texas, "will go off Sunday as scheduled" (Whiteside, 2013, para. 10). Another article wrote, "Organizers Oklahoma City Memorial Marathon, set for Friday, said they planned to go ahead with the race" (Celona et al., 2013, para. 38).

In addition to reporting on the progress of running events in the wake of Boston, articles highlighted the idea that runners planned to continue their participation in running and its events. One article headline signaled that rather than giving in, runners chose to meet their new reality head-on: "Running Community Forced to Navigate a New Path"

(Sheinin, 2013). Another headline indicated that: “Where Finish Line is a Crime Scene, No Talk of Defeat” (Longman, 2013). It also described the finish line during the week after the blasts, which had been decorated with signs reading, “Keep on running, Boston” (Longman, 2013, para. 18). A final article, titled “Boston Comeback” (2013) reinforced the idea that the Boston Marathon would return.

According to coverage, runners also articulated this intention to move forward by expressing their commitment to running, racing, and the Boston Marathon. In one article, the father of two autistic twins demonstrated an intention to help his sons continue running: “We don’t know exactly how they feel, but we can’t stop entering them in races. Their life revolves around running” (Kilgannon, 2013, para. 7). Another article provided ample evidence for the persistence of runners who ritualistically participated in the activity each day:

They were out there again on Tuesday – on the National Mall and Embassy Row, down the Capital Crescent Trail and the C&O Canal Towpath [sic], along Beach Drive and the GW Parkway, on the high school tracks and neighborhood sidewalks, in packs of twos or threes, with baby strollers or dogs, or simply alone. (Sheinin, 2013, para. 6)

Three paragraphs later it noted, “They’ll be out there again on Wednesday” (Sheinin, 2013, para. 9). It also went on to quote one runner who planned to continue:

You start to look forward: Do I stay home and not run anymore? No, but maybe I will be a little more vigilant when I’m out there. I’ll have to be conscious of what’s around me. But I’m still going to go out. I didn’t do all this training for nothing. I’m doing it because I love it. (Sheinin, 2013, para. 14)

The article finally concluded with the thoughts of a separate runner who had participated in Boston and would proceed as planned with his slate of races in upcoming months, beginning with a marathon two weeks post-Boston: “As for Wardian, the schedule on his Web site shows eight upcoming events – marathons, 50-milers, and 100-milers –

beginning with the Big Sur International Marathon in California on April 28. He said Tuesday he plans to do them all” (Sheinin, 2013, para. 17). Another article cited a prominent member of the running community and former Boston Marathon winner who indicated his belief that the field for the 2014 Boston Marathon Bombing should be enlarged beyond its usual limit to accommodate the influx of runners who he believed would want to participate because of the 2013 attack (Longman, 2013, para. 10). A final article reported on a four-time Boston Marathon champion who, at the age of 65, said he planned to come back from retirement to run the Boston Marathon in 2014. The same article also noted, “Turnout will be huge next year on the anniversary of the bombing that killed three and wounded dozens” (“Boston Comeback,” 2013, para. 1).

In its coverage of runner persistence, major U.S. newspapers finally included specific insight into runners’ motives for persisting despite their fear and sadness. It indicated that runners would likely want to return to the Boston Marathon in 2014 to provide closure for events in 2013. For example, in one article’s discussion of a teacher who had been wounded while cheering on his father, it noted his father who had been stopped half of a mile from the finish line, but instead ran to the hospital after learning of his son’s injury. According to the article, his son “thinks this might not be his dad’s last Boston Marathon, after all” (Svrluga, 2013, para. 7). This implied that he believed his father would likely return in 2014 to finish what he had been so close to finishing in 2013. Another article discussed the likelihood that survivors would return to the race in 2014. It paraphrased an individual, who, it wrote, “felt certain that one or more surviving victims would enter Boston in the future, either in a wheelchair or on foot, and that it would be a triumphant indication of the city’s resolve” (Longman, 2013, para. 13).

Additionally, it quoted a runner who listed the desire to “complete the race” as a primary motive for returning in 2014 (Longman, 2013, para. 20).

In its discussion on why runners were motivated to continue, coverage also indicated that many such runners wanted to send a message to the attack’s perpetrators and ensure the Boston Marathon did not become overshadowed by the event. An article quoted the president of a local running club who described part of the reasoning behind the persistence of runners: “You get the nothing’s-going-to-stop-me attitude. It’s not going to stop us. Things might be different now, but it’s the nature of the type of people we’re talking about. They don’t give up” (Sheinin, 2013, para. 12). According to another article reporting on a retired professional runner who announced his intention to emerge from retirement to run the 2014 Boston Marathon, his biographer said, “He will prove a point that you don’t mess with runners” (“Boston Comeback,” 2013, para. 1). Another article quoted a runner who said, “As somebody told me, they’ve made a lot of people angry and they’re all faster than this person who did this” (Longman, 2013, para. 23). It also quoted another runner who asked, “Are we going to let whoever did this defeat us, or are we going to rise above it?” (Longman, 2013, para. 11). When reporting on the finish line scene in the days following the attack, the same article underscored the idea that the Boston Marathon would emerge from the attack better than before: “A feeling expressed by many is that the race will not be diminished by the bombings, and will return bigger and stronger” (Longman, 2013, para. 9).

Major U.S. newspapers injected emotional frames in their coverage of runners and the Boston Marathon Bombings by focusing on fear, sadness, and runner perseverance. Analysis revealed how articles wove descriptive details, first-hand

accounts from runners, and a discussion of runner vulnerability into their fear frames. It also showed how they incorporated sadness frames by describing the impact of the bombings and quoting runners. Finally, it explained how and why runners and running events had continued in order to frame runners as resilient and perseverant.

In conclusion, the results of this study addressed three research questions encompassing the community, individual, and emotional frames present in major U.S. newspaper coverage of the Boston Marathon Bombings. The results of this study demonstrated how articles framed runners after the Boston Marathon Bombings as the product of extensive individual and community dynamics. It also indicated that while coverage emphasized fear and sadness in its framing of the event, it also highlighted the perseverance of runners. Overall, these frames provide significant evidence for the presence of themes related to runners in major U.S. newspaper coverage the month following the Boston Marathon Bombings.

Discussion

The current study provides insight on how major U.S. newspapers framed the individual and community motivations of runners, as well as how they utilized emotional frames in their coverage of runners in the month following the Boston Marathon Bombings. The following section explains how this study's findings relate to prior research, as well as how they are beneficial to communication practitioners who target runners through running events, running organizations, or in some other way. This section also addresses the current study's limitations and suggests direction for future research.

Relationship to Previous Research

This study's chief contribution to existing research comes from its focus on how the media – specifically major U.S. newspapers – used framing when covering runners in the month after the Boston Marathon Bombings. It confirmed how major U.S. newspapers framed runners to provide “a human face and emotional angle” (Cho & Gower, 2006, p. 420) to coverage of the event. Because of this, it provided support for An and Gower's (2009) findings that human-interest frames are often used by the media during crises that have an obvious human element.

This study also contributed to the understanding of human-interest frames during crisis events by exploring how these major U.S. newspapers portrayed the individual dynamics of runners after the first crisis event of its kind. These findings confirmed prior research in two ways. First, findings indicated that major U.S. newspapers portrayed running as an activity that was used by runners to overcome personal obstacles, including day-to-day challenges and major illness (Kilgannon, 2013; Longman, 2013; Sheinin,

2013). This agreed with research by Shipway et al. (2013) and Shipway and Jones (2008), which found that runners associated their participation in running events with the ability to overcome obstacles in their personal lives. Second, the study showed how major U.S. newspapers agreed with prior research in their portrayal of runners' long-term commitment to the activity (Dorell, 2013; Gowen, 2013; Kilgannon, 2013; Leonnig, 2013; Sheinin, 2013). This specifically agreed with Shipway and Jones (2013) who found that marathon runners in particular demonstrated a "need to persevere" (p. 70), often at the expense of their personal lives and overall health. It also confirmed research by Thomas et al. (2013) who noted that runners demonstrated a commitment to the activity, even though they differed in the degree of this individual commitment.

Prior research also noted other individual dynamics that the current study did not support. For example, Thomas et al. (2013) indicated the presence of stress or friction between individual runners due to varying commitment levels and motivations. This theme did not appear in the current study likely due to the nature of Boston Marathon Bombings as a terrorist event, which the articles suggested brought runners together rather than drove them apart. Additionally, prior research indicated that runners derived a large part of their personal identities from running (Shipway et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2013). This theme was also unconfirmed by the current study, likely due to the emphasis on community or group dynamics that often accompanies the aftermath of terrorist events.

In addition to noting individual dynamics that were consistent with prior research, these findings also supported existing research on the community dynamics of runners. First, this study showed how U.S. newspaper coverage agreed with previous research in

which runners placed emphasis on community rather than individual differences (Shipway et al., 2013; Thomas et al., 2013). Findings confirmed that newspapers portrayed runners as deeply connected to each other in the month after the Boston Marathon Bombings, emphasizing their friendships and unspoken bonds with each other (Dorell, 2013; Gowen, 2013; Kilgannon, 2013; Ruderman, 2013; Sheinin, 2013; Shin, 2013). Second, this study confirmed previous research signaling the strong social/group identity of runners; this identity created a shared understanding of races and running and also played out in how runners dressed and spoke (Shipway et al., 2013; Shipway & Jones, 2008; Thomas et al., 2013). The current study indicated that major U.S. newspapers portrayed a common understanding among runners regarding the Boston Marathon's significance (Dorell, 2013; Gowen, 2013; Longman, 2013; Sheinin, 2013; Shin, 2013; Vinton, 2013; Whiteside, 2013).

While it confirmed significant findings from previous research regarding the community dynamics of runners, this study diverged in two ways. First, it diverged in its portrayal of those outside the scope of those who engage in running. Prior research by Shipway and Jones (2008) portrayed runners as an insular group who many times placed time with their running community above time with family and friends. However, the current findings portrayed runners as extremely reliant on the support of family and friends in the period following the Boston Marathon (Fenton et al., 2013; Kilgannon, 2013; Longman, 2013; Vinton, 2013). Finally, it is important to note that prior research identified a strong desire on the part of runners to maintain their standing or perception among fellow runners (Shipway et al., 2013; Shipway & Jones, 2008). The current study did not provide support for or against this theme. Researchers believe this was due to the

nature of the Boston Marathon Bombings as a terrorist event, which likely prompted runners – and the journalists who reported on them – to reflect on themes emphasizing unity rather than those that focused on competition between members of the community.

Despite its contributions to the how and why behind major U.S. newspaper coverage of runners in the month after the Boston Marathon Bombings, it is important to note that the study's qualitative nature did not provide the type of data to confirm or deny previous quantitative research on the frequency of human-interest frames in coverage, or their effects on audiences. As the literature review noted, significant previous research measured the specific impact of human-interest frames and emotion on audiences during crisis events (Cho & Gower, 2006; Jin, 2010; Kim & Cameron, 2011; Kühne & Schemer, 2013). Additionally, prior research by Li (2009) found that human-interest frames developed in later stages of cable news coverage of the September 11 terrorist attack. However, while it did not supply the type of data to support or undermine these studies, the current study did suggest several strategies used by major U.S. newspapers as they framed runners in the month after the Boston Marathon Bombings. For example, it revealed that major U.S. newspapers integrated human-interest frames by emphasizing individual and community dynamics among runners. It also revealed how they used sadness, fear, and a focus on runner resilience to shed an emotional light on these runners. Finally, this study revealed how these frames were manifest through descriptive aspects and in direct quotes from runners.

Recommendations

The results of this study are beneficial to race directors and communication/public relations practitioners associated with large races, running organizations, and other

groups that target those who run. They suggest ways to engage runners in the immediate aftermath of a crisis event, as well as in the long-term by developing effective messages and using appropriate channels.

Results provide immediate crisis communication strategies. The results of this study can first help race directors and communication practitioners associated with large-scale running events develop crisis communication strategies to prepare for the immediate aftermath of crisis events. Although it provided its “spin” on the event, U.S. print media coverage in the month following the Boston Marathon Bombings supplied some of the only available “play-by-play” information on how runners responded to and coped with the attack. This news coverage is therefore helpful to crisis communicators in several ways. First, understanding the frames in major U.S. newspaper coverage can help communicators define runners as a key target audience in their emergency contingency plans. Results showed how coverage portrayed runners as a community that extended far beyond participants at the 2013 Boston Marathon; all runners, regardless of location, felt deeply impacted by the event. In light of this, communicators may want to carefully consider how they define “runners” or the “running community” as an audience. For example, they may wish to define runners as inclusive of event participants as well as runners watching the crisis unfold in other ways.

Second, these frames can direct crisis communicators toward messaging strategies that counteract key negative emotions and behaviors identified among runners in this study. For example, media frames indicated that runners felt a sense of fear and chaos immediately after the blasts and well into the weeks following. These frames also indicated how runners spread rumors to each other in the immediate aftermath. Crisis

communicators can utilize these themes to provide clear information and directions to event participants as a strategy to minimize fear and chaos. For example, practitioners might emphasize specific law enforcement and security measures aimed at keeping runners safe, and tell runners where to go to remove themselves from danger. Because this study showed how runners connected with each other in the immediate aftermath of the Boston Marathon Bombings—in ways that included helping one another and trading information and rumors—practitioners should disseminate these messages in the immediate aftermath of a crisis via word of mouth, as well as through social media.

In addition to counteracting negative behaviors and messages in the wake of a crisis event, this study suggests ways for crisis communicators to engage the positive behaviors that the media indicated runners exhibited after the Boston Marathon Bombings. For example, these frames demonstrated how runners supported one another despite their intense fear. Coverage also framed the desire of runners to return to running and other events, including the Boston Marathon. Crisis communication strategies can engage these positive actions by maximizing opportunities for runners to help one another during a crisis. For example, a crisis plan might include messages and contingency plans that encourage runners with phones to let others use them to call friends and family members. It might also provide information on where runners can go to donate blood, provide transportation to those stranded along a race course, or meet other identified needs in case of emergency. Again, because of the heavy emphasis on community and the chaotic nature of crisis events, these messages are best distributed via word-of-mouth and social media channels.

Finally, the results of this study suggest practical media-relations strategies for practitioners in the immediate aftermath of a crisis event. Analysis showed a strong preference on the part of major U.S. newspapers for emotionally-themed frames when covering runners. For example, analysis showed how major U.S. newspapers incorporated fear and sadness frames and emphasized the vulnerability of runners. Media practitioners who wish to decrease the amount of fear portrayed in coverage of future crisis events can use this information to drive the creation of targeted media messages that emphasize positive aspects of runners (i.e., resilience, runners helping each other, etc.). Practitioners might also use this information to forcefully engage the media on how their respective events are actively working to keep runners safe. Because analysis showed how the media portrayed runners as a group that was determined to succeed, practitioners will likely want to extend these media frames by communicating how their events are moving forward. They should also provide examples for the media of runners at the event who demonstrate a similar trait.

Results suggest long-term strategies to engage runners. In addition to aiding the development of immediate crisis communication strategies, the results of this study can help practitioners associated with large running events create long-term messaging strategies to engage and recruit runners to their races in a post-Boston running environment. The frames present in major print media coverage of the bombings first indicated that runners displayed an intense desire, as well as a behavioral intent, to return to running and other running events. Frames suggested that this desire to continue running stemmed from a need to provide closure to the 2013 Boston Marathon and to send a message to the perpetrators of the attack. In the wake of the Boston Marathon

Bombings, practitioners can use this information to develop advertising campaigns in running publications, as well as social media strategies, which tap into the persistence and determination portrayed in this coverage.

Frames also provided clues about the individual and communal motivations of runners, which are beneficial to practitioners. For example, individuals often demonstrated a long-term commitment to running; coverage indicated that many runners had completed multiple races and Boston Marathons and made running a part of their daily lives. Communicators with a running event might target this motivation by presenting a respective running event as one that requires intense commitment and dedication to train for and complete. On a community level, frames indicated that runners were motivated by each other and other runners, as well as supporters like friends, family, and general spectators. Communicators might capitalize on these framed motivations when promoting races in advertising and on social media channels by portraying them as an opportunity to join fellow runners. They might also emphasize the strong crowd/spectator support along the course.

Finally, the results of this study can help communication practitioners associated with large running events develop long-term media-relations strategies to engage runners. For example, analysis first showed how the media framed runners as a product of individual influences, including personal challenges like serious illness. Practitioners at running events could use this knowledge to identify runners at their events with unique or outstanding stories and provide the media with opportunities to interview them. Analysis also showed how the media portrayed a particularly strong community dynamic among self-proclaimed runners. Practitioners might apply this information by emphasizing the

role of community when interacting with the media on behalf of their events or organizations. They might also identify how their event or organization uniquely contributes to the sense of community among runners and then highlight these items when interacting with the media.

Results suggest strategies to engage running supporters, sponsors. Although the results of this study are highly applicable to the efforts of practitioners to engage runners in their immediate- and long-term crisis communication strategies, they can also help these communicators target supporters of their running events. For example, the results of this study suggested that spectators, including friends and family members, were a key part of the running community at the Boston Marathon and are integral to the success of future races. Therefore, practitioners should look for ways to ensure these spectators understand their safety and role in future running events. For example, they should create a series of messages that help spectators understand where to go and what to do in the event of a future crisis. To target feelings of long-term safety and excitement, practitioners might present messaging that shows supporters how they contribute to the celebratory or fun atmosphere at the event. These messages can be best channeled through social media sites, in race literature, as well as the media. Practitioners should also incorporate these messages into event advertising that is specifically targeted at spectators rather than runners.

Additionally, these results have implications for the ways in which running-related practitioners target race sponsors in the wake of a crisis. The results of this study portray runners as deeply committed to the activity. Additionally, major U.S. newspaper coverage portrayed ongoing running events despite the threat of other terrorist attacks.

Practitioners can use this information to engage potential sponsors with messaging that shows how these running events are thriving and how they are keeping runners safe. These messages are intended to demonstrate how running events are an exceptional way for sponsors to present their brands and engage specific targeted audiences. These messages should be dispensed through positive relationships with potential sponsors.

Limitations

Although this study provided in-depth information on how the media used frames to portray runners one month after the Boston Marathon Bombings, it still demonstrated key shortcomings. First, because it only involved major U.S. newspapers, the current study lacked a holistic view of media coverage of runners in the month after the Boston Marathon Bombings. Second, because of the qualitative nature of the study, it cannot speak to the frequency of the identified framing methods within the media's coverage of the event. Third, because the study did not speak with the journalists who wrote these articles, it is difficult to determine the motivations behind these framing strategies. Finally, because the study did not interview, survey, or otherwise speak with runners themselves, it provided limited understanding of the actual motivations and responses of this group of individuals in the month after the bombings.

Implications for Future Research

By supplementing an existing gap in research regarding how the media used human-interest and emotional frames to portray runners following the Boston Marathon Bombings, the current study suggests direction for future research. First, future research in this area should explore other media formats, such as television, online news websites (i.e., *The Daily Beast*, *Huffington Post*, *WSJ.com*, etc.), and others, to gauge how they

understood and framed runners during a similar time period. Additional media studies should also include analysis of how local Boston media portrayed runners; these results could then be compared against results from the current study to understand the similarities and differences of national versus local publications. In turn, this would enable communicators to draw more solid conclusions for their short- and long-term communication strategies following a crisis. Second, future research should explore quantitative information related to media frames of runners in the Boston Marathon Bombings. For example, a quantitative content analysis of major U.S. newspapers would supplement the qualitative understanding provided by this study. Furthermore, statistical information would help practitioners generalize from the sample to the population of news stories that covered runners. Third, future research should interview the journalists who authored these articles to better understand the rationale behind their framing of runners. This would likely help communicators better understand how journalists perceive runners. Fourth, further study into the actual individual and community dynamics and emotion of runners following the Boston Marathon Bombings should be conducted using qualitative methods like interviews or focus groups. This would likely help communicators better understand the relationship between what runners felt and experienced and how the media understood and framed these factors in its coverage. This information could also point to better immediate crisis communication strategies, as well as long-term strategies to engage runners. Finally, researchers should follow up this qualitative research into runners with quantitative research methods like a survey.

Appendix A

Description and Sample of Artifact

Publication	Number of Articles
<i>The New York Daily News</i>	1
<i>The New York Post</i>	4
<i>The New York Times</i>	3
<i>USA Today</i>	2
<i>The Washington Post</i>	5
Total	15

The New York Times

May 5, 2013 Sunday
Late Edition - Final

Autistic Twins Are Hoping for Calm Races After the Trauma of Boston

BYLINE: By COREY KILGANNON

SECTION: Section SP; Column 0; Sports Desk; Pg. 11

LENGTH: 1066 words

BETHPAGE, N.Y. -- Alex and Jamie Schneider run seemingly on instinct, saying nothing and drifting into a cone of concentration. They are autistic 22-year-old identical twins from Long Island whose passion is to run for miles at a time. The twins, who are nonverbal and can exhibit severe behaviors like self-injury and tantrums, have completed more than 120 races, including five marathons and eight half-marathons, over the past seven years.

"They thrive on the repetition and routine of racing," said their mother, Robyn Schneider. "You finish, get a medal, high-five everyone at the finish line and go home."

She and her husband, Allan, introduced their sons to distance **running** as an opportunity to participate in events with nonautistic people and to be exposed to real-world stimulation. They never expected to run in a marathon thrown into tumult by a bombing.

The Schneider twins are still feeling the effects from the trauma of running in last month's Boston Marathon, where two bombs near the finish line killed 3 people and injured more than 260 others.

"They can't talk it out like you or me could," Allan Schneider, said. "We can try telling them everything's going to be O.K., but they still don't understand what happened. We can't explain what a bomb is. We don't know how they internalize all this stuff."

One thing that could help the twins put the event behind them, he added, is running another race -- one with no screaming, and with no police officers with machine guns barking orders.

"The race this weekend is a big question for us," Schneider, 60, said, referring to Sunday's Long Island Marathon events. "We don't know exactly how they feel, but we can't stop entering them in races. Their life revolves around running."

The Schneiders have entered Alex in the half-marathon and Jamie in the 10K.

"Jamie had such a rough time in Boston, we didn't want to throw him back into it that fast in case it would set him back even further," Allan Schneider said. "We want to ease him back, and have a pleasant experience."

The twins, who have specialized skills like puzzle solving and playing classical piano, have different running styles. That produced different experiences in Boston.

Jamie, who is less task-oriented, runs for pleasure. When feeling good, he likes to run races near young women on the course and high-five people at water stops. He lacks Alex's speed, but he can easily run for more than six hours at a time, with energy to spare. Jamie is also prone to erratic behavior; sounds like the starter's gun can startle him, so he listens to an iPod.

Alex is more focused and less hindered by tics and outbursts. He has the look of an elite runner: slim, sinewy legs and a relaxed but unflinching stare. He was competitive from the start, running his first marathon, the 2010 Hamptons Marathon, in 3 hours 27 minutes 47 seconds.

On April 15 in Boston, the last three miles were Alex's fastest of the race, and he finished in 3:23:22. Robyn Schneider, 56, who was in the front row of the bleachers across the street from the site of the first explosion, avoided the blast because she met Alex after the race.

They were at the nearby Westin Hotel when the bombs exploded. As people watched the chaos through windows and on television, Alex pulled at his mother's clothing and wanted to go back to the finish line to high-five his father and his brother, who were running together. But they had been stopped at Mile 22 and eventually taken to a church.

"Jamie is so sensitive," Allan Schneider said, "even if he sees you frowning on the phone, or someone frowns in the room, he picks up on it and gets very upset himself."

At the church, he added, they were "surrounded by all these people crying and shouting and trading wild rumors about dozens killed and other bombs being planted." Jamie, he added, "doesn't know what a bomb is, but he knows the race is not supposed to go like this, and he doesn't understand why he's not finishing. His eyes were like saucers for five hours. It was an overload of emotions."

Alex was better able to cope with the trauma.

"He doesn't internalize things," Allan Schneider said. "In that way, the autism is a blessing for a runner. He didn't drink much of it in, in Boston, as Jamie did."

Jamie jumped at every noise on the car ride home the next day, his parents said. He has since had trouble sleeping and keeps stopping during training runs. Jamie has also reverted to some self-injurious behaviors that running had helped him overcome.

"I think that being out there in the freezing cold, looking at police with machine guns, he went through emotional carnage," Allan Schneider said.

The twins have photographic memories of every course they run. But they cannot safely cross a street by themselves.

Three days a week, they train on wooded trails through Bethpage State Park. On Tuesday, they were running sprints, accompanied by their father and Kevin McDermott, 54, a floor installer and running coach from East Islip who has worked with Alex since 2006.

Alex and Jamie run with identification tags on their wrists and sneakers that include their diagnosis and contact information. They each run races with at least one guide to help keep a steady pace, provide water, avoid hazards, navigate crowds and deal with their reactions to noise and other distractions. The guides use simple commands and hand signals to keep them focused.

"Alex doesn't understand pacing," McDermott said. "He starts out too fast because he doesn't know when the race is going to end."

McDermott sets the pace by running a step ahead, with his hand trailing so Alex can tap it to show he is alert.

The family began running on the beach when the boys were about 8; Special Olympics races followed when the boys were teenagers. The twins gained more experience with the Rolling Thunder Special Needs Program, a club for mainstream and challenged athletes.

Their parents also know the healing power of running: Robyn to cope with breast cancer treatment, and Allan to mitigate the effects of multiple sclerosis.

Before races, Alex lays out everyone's sneakers and aligns their laces just so. While running, he does not high-five spectators or notice other competitors.

"Alex won't stop running until I give him the 'all done' verbal cue," McDermott said. "He'd keep running till he dropped. He's a Zen runner. It's the pure experience he loves."

URL: <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/05/05/sports/autistic-twins-find-a-release-in-running.html>

LOAD-DATE: May 5, 2013

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

GRAPHIC: PHOTOS: Alex Schneider, top right, with Kevin McDermott. Jamie Schneider, above left, with his mother, Robyn, who said her sons "thrive on the repetition and routine of racing." (PHOTOGRAPHS BY CHANG W. LEE/THE NEW YORK TIMES)

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The Washington Post

April 29, 2013 Monday
Suburban Edition

Grad student hurt along with her friend as they cheered on a classmate

BYLINE: Annys Shin

SECTION: A-SECTION; Pg. A04

LENGTH: 318 words

"Marathon Monday is pretty amazing to witness," Liza Cherney tweeted on Patriot's Day 2012 as she witnessed her first Boston Marathon.

Cherney, a native of Novato, Calif., returned to Boylston Street this year to cheer on fellow Boston College business school classmate Meaghan Zipin, who was **running** to raise money for charity.

Brittany Loring, another Boston College MBA candidate and Cherney's best friend, joined her. They hail from opposite sides of the country, but after meeting two years ago they learned that they shared a love of running, the same birthday month - April - and an overachieving streak. Loring is pursuing a dual law and business degree. Cherney is on her second graduate degree, having already earned a master's in gerontology. They are slated to graduate in three weeks.

The day of the marathon, they had been tracking Zipin's progress and made it to the finish line in time to blow their friend kisses. Then came a deafening explosion as the first bomb went off.

In the chaos that followed, emergency workers took Cherney and Loring to separate hospitals. Loring ended up at Boston Medical Center, and Cherney was taken to Beth Israel. Both had been blitzed with BBs, nails and other shrapnel that had been packed inside the bomb.

"Where is Liza?" Loring kept asking, her father Dan Loring recalled. In the days that followed, the friends eventually were able to connect by phone, including Tuesday when Loring called to wish Cherney a happy birthday. Loring's birthday was the day of the attack. Both women turned 29.

Friends who have visited Cherney said she is expected to make a full recovery and was in good spirits. Her family, who flew from California to be at her side, declined to be interviewed.

She and Loring were supposed to celebrate their birthdays together the Saturday after the race. Although it's delayed, the friends say, the date is one they plan to keep.

- Annys Shin

LOAD-DATE: April 29, 2013

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

DISTRIBUTION: Every Zone

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Appendix B

Analysis Sheet: Running Themes in Major U.S. Newspaper Coverage

Of the 2013 Boston Marathon Bombings

Instructions:

Apply each question to a single full-length artifact. Please examine the entire artifact (headline, body, etc.). Provide supporting quotes, details, or other necessary information to substantiate all observations.

Name of Article:

Analysis Questions:

1. How did the artifact fit into the chronology of coverage in the month-long period after the Boston Marathon Bombings (i.e., was it immediately following, shortly after, a few weeks after, etc.)?
2. How did the artifact portray the individual motivations runners had for participating in running in general (i.e., running as an activity, exclusive of marathon running or participating in running events)?
3. How did the artifact portray the individual reasons runners expressed for running the Boston Marathon and/or participating in a particular running event?
4. Did the artifact describe runners who were unable to finish the race because of the blasts? How did it describe their disappointment?
5. How did the artifact describe the individual motivations runners had for wanting to return to a running event or the Boston Marathon in the future?
6. Did the artifact address the significance of the Boston Marathon to runners? How?

7. How did the artifact portray the communal or social motivations runners had for participating in the activity?
8. Did the artifact portray runners as troubled by the impact of the bombings on other runners or the running community overall? How?
9. How did the artifact describe the relationship(s) that runners had with fellow runners (i.e., close friends, casual friends, etc.)?
10. Did the artifact portray runners helping other runners during the Boston Marathon and after? How?
11. How did the artifact show social or community reasons playing a role in runners' intention to return to Boston or another running event in the future?
12. How did the artifact incorporate emotion into its portrayal of runners?
13. How did the artifact describe the emotional state of runners at the scene and following the Boston Marathon Bombings?
14. How did the artifact frame the emotional motivations of runners to return to Boston and/or other running events (i.e., angry, sad, or something else)?
15. Did the artifact portray runners who had already made plans to return to a running event in the near future (i.e., not just discussed intention, but acted on it by registering for another race)? How did it portray these runners?
16. Did the artifact portray runners who were fearful of returning to running events in the future? How did it portray these runners?
17. Did the artifact portray runners who had already participated in a running event since the Boston Marathon Bombings? How did it describe these runners?

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Curriculum Vitae

Hannah L. Oliver is a 2006 summa cum laude graduate of Vanguard University of Southern California, located in Costa Mesa, California, where she received a Bachelor of Arts in Communication Studies. Since graduating, her professional roles have included deputy press secretary for a U.S. Senator, where she worked with national and local media outlets to communicate the Senator's position on legislation and policy. Most recently, she has served as Communications Manager for the American International Automobile Dealers Association (AIADA). In this role, she assists in developing and implementing the association's web-, print-, and event-based communication strategies. During her time in the Johns Hopkins University M.A. in Communication program, she focused her studies on how the media plays a role in large news events. She currently resides in Orlando, Florida, with her husband, Sam.